

## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 08945 111813Z

64

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 SAJ-01 OMB-01 NIC-01 NEA-14

DRC-01 /162 W

----- 113906

R 111600Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9728

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

LXCONSUL HONG KONG 1951

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MOSCOW 8945

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UR

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 08945 111813Z

SUBJ: GROMYKO AND PONOMAREV SPEECHES: A SUMMARY

1. SUMMARY. GROMYKO AND PONOMAREV ELECTION SPEECHES JUNE 10 WERE DEVOTED LARGELY TO FOREIGN POLICY, JUDGING BY BARBERED PARVDA VERSIONS JUNE 11. WE HAVE REPORTED SEPARATELY ON U.S. AND MIDDLE EAST ASPECTS OF SPEECHES. THIS CABLE TREATS OTHER ASPECTS, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO DETENTE, WHICH BOTH SPEAKERS TREAT POSITIVELY. OVERALL, GROMYKO APPEARS TO TAKE A SOMEWHAT MORE GUARDED VIEW OF DETENTE THAN HE USUALLY DOES, WHILE PONOMAREV TRANSFERS TO NATIVE SOIL SOME OF THE STRONGLY PRO-DETENTE STATEMENTS HE MADE IN THE U.S. WE CAUTION THE READER THAT WE DO NOT YET HAVE THE FULL TEXTS OF THE SPEECHES. END SUMMARY.

2. DETENTE. PONOMAREV, SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY, COMES OUT STRONGER ON DETENTE PROSPECTS THAN GROMYKO. HE INTRODUCES SUBJECT EARLY IN THE SPEECH A(ALSO INSERTING A POSITIVE STATEMENT ON U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENTS), NOTING "VERY MAJOR CHANGES" IN WORLD HE GOES ON TO ASSERT THAT DETENTE "CAN AND MUST BE STABILIZED AND STRENGTHENED, CAN AND MUST BE GIVEN AN IRREVERSIBLE CHARACTER." GROMYKO LISTS DETENTE FIRST AMONG MAJOR CHANGES SINCE LAST ELECTIONS, CITES "SERIOUS QUALITATIVE PROGRESS" IN LAST FOUR YEARS, AND SAYS THAT COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN TOWARD PEACE, NOT WAR. BUT HE NOTES THAT "PERSISTENT AND LONG STRUGGLE" WILL BE NEEDED TO MAKE DETENTE IRREVERSIBLE.

3. FOES OF DETENTE. BOTH SPEAKERS GIVE SPECIFIC ATTENTION TO OPPONENTS OF DETENTE, BUT GROMYKO ZEROES IN MORE DIRECTLY ON THEIR WESTERN PROVENANCE. HIS REMARKS ON OPPONENTS OF DETENTE IN U.S. ARE TREATED IN SEPTEL. HE ALSO SAYS THT THE "GOVERNING CIRCLES" OF THE WEST ARE "STRIVING TO BLOCK" ANY WEAKENING OF MILITARY AND CLOSED ECONOMIC BLOCS, CITING NATO REFUSAL TO CONSIDER WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL ON DISSOLUTION OF TWO BLOCS AS "CHARACTERISTIC." PONOMAREV TENDS TO KEEP HIS REMARKS IN A THIRD WORLD CONTEXT; HE CITES CHILE AND URUGUAY TO BUTTRESS HIS STATEMENT THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 08945 111813Z

"IMPERIALISM IS ATTEMPTING TO COUNTERATTACK, TO STRIKE BLOWS AT PEACE, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIAL PROGRESS."

4. CRISIS OF CAPITALISM. ON THIS, BOTH GROMYKO AND PONOMAREV SOUND A BIT LIKE THE PRE-U.S. VISIT PONOMAREV. GROMYKO, FOR EXAMPLE, CALLS ATTENTION TO MONETARY AND ENERGY CRISES IN THE WEST AND TO DISCORD AMONG THE U.S., WESTERN EUROPE, AND JAPAN. AT THE

SAME TIME, GROMYKO GOES OUT OF HIS WAY TO SAY FAVORABLE THINGS ABOUT THE NEW FRENCH AND GERMAN GOVERNMENTS (AS WELL AS ABOUT THE UPCOMING SOVIET-U.S. SUMMIT).

5. CSCE AND MBFR. GROMYKO EMPHASIZES THE NEED TO WRAP UP THE CONFERENCE "IN THE NEAREST FUTURE AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL." (HIS CALL FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION IS ECHOED BY A PRAVDA COMMENTARY JUNE 11.) PONOMAREV DOES NOT REFER TO CSCE TIMING, AN OMISSION WE ARE INCLINED TO DISCOUNT IN VIEW OF THE AUTHORIZATIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A RAPID FINISH IN THE LAST WEEK. PONOMAREV DOES MAKE THE STRONGEST PUBLIC LINKAGE BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR THAT WE CAN REMEMBER SEEING. HE SAYS: "POSITIVE RESULTS OF CSCE WILL ALSO GIVE IMPETUS TO THE VIENNA (MBFR) TALKS."

6. ASIA. GROMYKO PLUMPS FOR SOVIET ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME. HE SINGLES OUT JAPAN, AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, IRAN, AND TURKEY FOR SPECIAL POSITIVE MENTION, AND WELCOMES NORMALIZATION AMONG INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BANGLADESH. HE PILLORIES PRC FOR ITS INCREASINGLY ANTI-SOVIET AND ANTI-SOCIALIST COURSE, AND SAYS USSR WILL CONTINUE TO REBUFF PEKING'S HOSTILE ACTIVITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, INTERESTS OF WORLD SOCIALISM DEMAND THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS BE BASED ON FRIENDSHIP AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS.

7. DEFENSE. BOTH SPEAKERS CALL FOR STRENGTHENED DEFENSE CAPABILITY. GROMYKO SAYS THAT, IN FOLLOWING DETENTE AND PEACE POLICY, USSR WILL CAREFULLY MONITOR INTRUGIES OF IMPERIALIST FORCES AND WILL STRENGTHEN DEFENSE CAPABILITY OF ITS ARMED FORCES. PONOMAREV LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 08945 111813Z

SAYS PREPARATIONS FOR WAR ARE CONTINUING AND MILITARY BUDGETS GROWING AND SOVIET UNION MUST THEREFORE STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSE AND KEEP VIGILANT.

8. WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. PONOMAREV FOLLOWS UP PRAVDA COMMENTARY OF LDIT WEEK BY SAYING THAT CPSU SUPPORTS INITIATIVES FOR "NEW MAJOR INTERNATIONAL FORUMS" AND WILL TAKE ACTIVE PART IN THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. THE IMPLICATION IS STRONGER HERE THAN IT WAS IN PRAVDA OF PUBLIC SOVIET BACKING FOR A EUROPEAN AS WELL AS A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. STOESSEL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** DETENTE, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, SPEECHES, ELECTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MILITARY POLICIES, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 JUN 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974MOSCOW08945  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740150-0781  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740656/aaaabwdr.tel  
**Line Count:** 165  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 MAR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 MAR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <08 MAY 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GROMYKO AND PONOMAREV SPEECHES: A SUMMARY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, UR, XB, CSCE, MBFR, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH), (PONOMAREV, BORIS)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005